

***NO ES ESTO SINO HYSTORIAS DE LOS ANTIGUOS:
BETWEEN MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN NARRATIONS
IN JUAN ANDRÉS' *CONFUSIÓN*****

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Abstract

Juan Andrés' treaty *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* is a meaningful example of how the typically medieval topics of anti-Islamic polemics are adapted into the Early Modern literary moulds. The interest in confuting Islam with the aid of the Qur'ān had been fuelling the literature of religious controversy long before Juan Andrés converted to Christianity and took up the quill to rebut his old faith. Nevertheless, his analysis of the content of the Qur'ān differs from the ones conducted before him. Moreover, the Quranic quotations inserted in Juan Andrés' polemical text happen to coincide with the Latin translation of the Qur'ān commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo and its glosses. Therefore, the aim of this paper is twofold: firstly, to revindicate Juan Andrés' autonomy and independence from Medieval polemics; secondly, to highlight the similarities and correspondence between Juan Andrés' *Confusión o confutación* and Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation of the Qur'ān.

Keywords

Juan Andrés, Medieval and Early Modern anti-Islamic polemics, Latin translation of the Qur'ān, Egidio da Viterbo.

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Resumen

El tratado *Confusión o confutación de la escuela Mahomética y del Alcorán* de Juan Andrés es un ejemplo significativo de cómo los tópicos típicamente medievales de la polémica anti-islámica se adaptan a los moldes de las primeras obras modernas. El interés en refutar el Islam con la ayuda del *Corán* había nutrido la literatura de la polémica religiosa mucho antes de que Juan Andrés se convirtiese al cristianismo y tomara la pluma para refutar su antigua fe. Sin embargo, su análisis del contenido del *Corán* se diferencia de los realizados ante de él. Asimismo, las citas coránicas insertadas en el tratado polémico de Juan Andrés coinciden con la traducción latina del *Corán* encargada por Egidio da Viterbo así como con sus glosas. Por tanto, el objeto de este trabajo es doble: por un lado, el de reivindicar la autonomía de Juan Andrés y su independencia con respecto a las polémicas medievales; y por el otro, el de poner de relieve las semejanzas y correspondencias entre la *Confusión o confutación* de Juan Andrés y la traducción latina del *Corán* de Egidio da Viterbo.

Palabras clave

Juan Andrés, polémicas anti-islámicas medievales y modernas, traducción latina del *Corán*, Egidio da Viterbo.

What is known about Juan Andrés comes mostly from the biographical extract which the author inserted in the prologue to his work *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* ("Confusion or Confutation of the Muhammadan Sect and of the Qur'ān"). Juan Andrés was a convert from Islam to Christianity; according to the introduction, the author of the treaty had been an *alfaquí* of the *aljama* of Xàtiva in Valencia and converted to Christianity in 1487. Subsequently, he became a preacher in Valencia and Granada, finally reaching the position of canon (Marín López, 1998, p. 438).

The self-presentation included in his work, begins with the narration of the birth of the false prophet *Mahoma*, and then centres upon the life of Juan Andrés in which his conversion occupies a distinguished place; the paragraphs which follow narrate the missionary activities and the objectives of his writing. In the preface Juan Andrés recorded that in 1510 he had written a translation of the whole of the Qur'ān into the Romance (Aragonese) vernacular at the request of Martín García, and that the bishop had used this translation in his sermons. Juan Andrés's translation has been lost, however in his *Confusión* he included about 140 Quranic quotations transcribed and translated into Spanish, with textual

comments.¹ I would like to come back to the subject of these citations in the second part of this paper, after having had a closer look at Juan Andrés' claim for authority stated in the prologue:

Fasta que en el año de 620 en la cibdad de Meca Abdalla Matalib e Ymina, su muger, ydólatras descendientes del bastardo linage de Ysmael, hijo de Agar, engendraron el hijo de contradicción y discordia, el falso propheta Mahoma, el qual, luego que llegó a edad de discreción, con sus malvados compañeros Ubequar, Homar, Hozmen y los otros siete perversos capitanes y secuaces suyos comenzó a desviar las simples gentes de cierta vía y fin de salvación, y abrirles errando camino y falsa secta, por donde infinitas ánimas ha guiado a las perpetuas penas infernales. A la qual secta, por ser toda sensual y voluptosa, en continente convirtieron las tres Rabias y todo el Egipto. Y dende, por sus califas y sucesores, passaron y convirtieron toda la África y de allí las Spañas, y ocupáron las quasi todas y juntamente la ciudad de Xátiva, donde yo después de muchos años fuy nacido y instruydo y enseñado en la secta mahomética por Abdalla, mi natural padre, alfaquí de la dicha ciudad, por cuya muerte sucedí yo en su oficio de alfaquí, en que mucho tiempo estuve perdido y desviado de la verdad, fasta que en el año de 1487 predicando en la yglesia mayor de la insigne ciudad de Valencia, hallándome yo presente en día de Nuestra Señora de Agosto, el muy reverendo y no menos docto varón maestre Marqués, a desora los resplandecientes rayos de la divinal luz y la influencia de aquel fin, que arriba dixe, removieron y esclarecieron las tinieblas de mi entendimiento y luego se me abrieron los ojos de la ánima. Y por la noticia que tenía en la secta mahomética claramente conocí que no por aquélla, como perversa y mala, mas por la santa ley de Christo se conseguía el fin de salvación para que los hombres fueron creados. E demandé luego el baptismo y, acordándoseme de la gloriosa convocación que avía oýdo dezir de Juan y de Andrés y de los otros pescadores por Cristo en el mar de Gallilea, hize me llamasen Juan Andrés. E recibidas sacras órdenes y de alfaquí y esclavo de Lucifer hecho sacerdote y ministro de Cristo, comencé, como sant Pablo, a repredicar y pregonar el contrario de lo que antes falsamente creyá y afirmaba, y con ayuda del alto Señor convertí primeramente en este reyno de Valencia y reduxe a la fin de salvación muchas ánimas de infieles moros que perdidas se yvan al Infierno al poder de Lucifer.

De allí fui llamado por los más católicos príncipes, el rey don Fernando y la reyna doña Ysabel, para que fuesse en Granada a predicar a los moros de aquel reyno que sus Altezas avían conquistado, donde por mi predicación y voluntad de Dios, que así lo quería, infinita morisma, renegando a Mahoma, a Cristo se convirtió. E dende a pocos días, creado allí canónigo por sus Altezas, fuy otra vez llamado por la cristianíssima reyna doña Ysabel para que veniesse en Aragón, a fin de trabajar en la conversión de los moros destos reynos que, a grande ygnominia del Crucificado y culpa y peligro de los príncipes

¹ Hartmut Bobzin, (2014).

cristianos, fasta oy perseveran en su error, la qual intención sanctíssima por la anticipada muerte de su Alteza no se pudo effectuar.

Cessando, pues, por entonces aquel fin, yo, por no estar ocioso, convertime a trasladar de arávido en lengua aragonesa toda la ley de los moros, digo el *Alcorán* con sus glosas y los siete² (*sic*) libros de la *Çuna*; movido también a esto por un mandato del muy reverendo señor maestro Martín García, obispo de Barçelona y inquisidor de Aragón, mi patrón y mi señor, porque en el cargo que tenía de sus Altezas de predicar a los moros pudiese, con las auctoridades de su misma ley, confundirlos y vencerlos, lo que sin aquel trabajo mío con dificultad podiera hazer.

Finalmente, acabada la sobredicha empresa, por no tener abscondido el talento que Dios me avía encomendado, acordé de componer la presente obra por recoger en ella algunas de las fabulosas ficciones, trufas, engaños, ninerías, bestialidades, locuras, suzidades, inconveniencias, imposibilidades, mentiras y contradicciones de passo en passo qu'el perverso y malvado Mahoma, para decebir los simples pueblos, ha dexadas sembradas por los libros de su secta y principalmente en el *Alcorán*, que según él dize le fue revelado por el ángel en una noche en la ciudad de Meca, aunque en otra parte contradiciéndose afirma que en veinte años le compuso. Y llamé a la dicha obra *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética*. E fue mi intención en componerla porque aun los más simples juicios alcancen cómo en la ley de Mahoma no ay fundamento ni razón para que pueda ser verdadera. Y porque los ignorantes moros, convencidos por testigo de su nación, conozcan el error en que están y en que su falso propheta Mahoma los ha puestos. Digo los ygnorantes porque de los sabios ninguno cree en Mahoma, mas antes tienen su secta por falsa y muy bestial. Y finalmente porque todos vengan a la sancta ley y verdadero fin para que fueron creados, e también porque no solamente los cristianos sabios más aún porque los simples, conociendo la desvariada creencia de los moros, algunas vezes burlen y reyan desas ninerías y bestialidades y, otras vezes, lloren su ceguedad y perdición. (Juan Andrés, 2003, pp. 89-92)

In this long fragment we can discern, apart from the biographical elements, on which we can choose to rely or not,³ several medieval motives. One can compare the description of Muhammad's birth with the one given by the second translator of the Qur'ān Mark of Toledo in the prologue to his work;⁴ linking

² Elsewhere Juan Andrés mentions that Sunnah was divided in six books, which is the expected division. Juan Andrés (2003, p. 91, n. 9).

³ The issue of whether Juan Andrés was a historical figure has been placed in doubt by Wieggers (2004 and 2010) and considered by Szpiech (2012a and 2012b).

⁴ "Hic nimirum prodiens quasi ex adipe iniquitatis in Mecha, id est adultera, que est in Arabia, natus exitit ex parentibus tamen secundum gradus seculi nobilibus, scilicet patre Habedileth, id est seruo Ydolileth; et matre Emina. In urbe nimirum adultera genitus est, que Dei uiui noticiam non habuit cui merito subiecta debet esse omnis anima utpote a quo principium sumpsit et originem. Abiit itaque post deos alienos a ueritate et ydola coluit uana et tamquam scortum, relicto Deo,

Muhammad's lineage with Ismael, the son of Agar, as did John of Damascus (*De Haeresibus* 100/101) and William of Tripoli (*Notitia de Machometo*, chapter 3) emphasized their violent nature, as it referred to the Book of Genesis 16 11-12.⁵ The Book of the Genesis served also as the etymological explanation for calling the Muslims *Saracens* or *Agarenes* (*Hagarenes*): Hagar (or Agar), was Sarah's, Abraham's wife's, servant, who gave birth to Abraham's son Ishmael. When Isaac, the son of Sarah, was born, Sarah ordered Abraham to "rid of that slave woman and her son" (*Gen.* 21:10). Thus, according to the medieval literature of religious controversy, Muslims would wish to call themselves "Saracens" or "descending from Sarah", but they come from the slave woman and therefore they should be called "Agarenes" (Daniel, 1993, p. 100).

On the other hand, the admonitions against Islam can be compared to the ones made by the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jimenéz de Rada in his *Historia Arabum*.⁶

marito suo legitimo multis se supponens diis adulterium perpetravit nefandum. Cum igitur Mafo-metus ex Arabia demonum insordidata culturis extitisset oriundus et ex parentibus ydola colentibus, tamen ex stirpe regia descendit", Petrus Pons (2008). "He in fact comes almost from the fat from the iniquity of Mecca, i.e. "harlot", which is in Arabia. However, he was born from noble parents according to the social rank of their time, which is, his father Habledileth which is servant of Ydolileth; and his mother Emina. He was born in an adulterous city, by all means, where there was no notion of the Living God, to whose merit the entire soul has to yield, as from Him it took the beginning and the origin. And <the city> deviated then to gods remote from the truth and worshiped false idols and, like a courtesan who abandons her lawful husband, abandoned God, and giving herself away to many gods, committed the heinous adultery. So, while Muhammad was born in Arabia, dirty because of the cults of demons and was born of parents who worshiped idols, nevertheless, he did descend from royal lineage", Starczewska (2011).

⁵ *Gen.* [16:11] The angel of the Lord also said to her: "You are now pregnant and you will give birth to a son. You shall name him Ishmael, for the Lord has heard of your misery. [12] He will be a wild donkey of a man; his hand will be against everyone and everyone's hand against him, and he will live in hostility toward all his brothers."

⁶ "Eorum itaque successiones et tempora uolens posteris conseruare, eorum exordium a Machometi tempore inchoaui, qui eorum secte fuit conditor et inuentor. De eius origine, predicatione et regno, que relatione fideli et eorum scripturis, ad detegendam gentis illius seuciam et uersuciam, satis breuiter explicaui. Aduertat autem lectoris studium qualiter mentita reuelatio uersuti hominis Machometi ex corde finxit uirus pestiferum, quo libidinosas animas quasi nexibus colligauit, ut discant paruuli a fabulis abstinere et Ade funiculis colligari, et trahi uinculis caritatis", Lozano Sanchez (1974). "And so, wanting to preserve for posterity their facts and chronology, I began their exordium from the time of Muhammad who was the founder and inventor of his sect. About his origin, preaching and reign, being faithful to his story and his writings, I explained quite briefly in order to expose the cruelty and malice of those people. In addition, may the interest of the reader turn to how the mendacious revelation of the evil man Muhammad shaped from his heart the pestilential venom, with which he tied the lustful souls almost as with knots, and so the smallest shall learn to

However, the goal of this analysis is not to demonstrate that Juan Andrés was using the same sources as the above mentioned authors; what has been stressed about this preface is that the strongest rhetorical claim made by Juan Andrés is his special condition of being a “testigo de su nación”, “a witness of their nation”, the specific situation of a convert who is proselytizing his ex co-believers (Szpiech, 2012a, 2012b). A similar claim is presented in the preface to the medieval (between 1085 and 1135) *Liber denudationis siue ostensionis aut patefaciens* (a.k.a. *Contrarietas alfolica*):

I.I. In nomine Patris, Patris saeculorum, et Filii resurrectionum, et Spiritus Sancti, uiuificatoris eorum qui sunt in sepulchris: vnitatis in Trinitate, Trinitatis in unitate, qua creauit nos de terra, et transtulit nos in generationes et lumbos, et effigiauit <nos> in matricibus, et statuit nobis auditus et uisus et iuuamenta et intellectus, et constituit nos de melioribus hominum cum monstauit nobis sua miracula et factorum suorum potentiam (et per hoc credidimus certitudinaliter), et edocuit nos semitas veritatis, et ostendit nobis uestigia suae potentiae et loca suae sapientiae. Laudabimus igitur eum desuper eius gratis demonstratis, et regratiabimur ei de munificentis eius continuatis, petemusque ab eo stabilimentum in hoc quod ipse [nos] direxit, et prosperitatem uerbi et operis ad ipsum propinquare <nos> facientis ut finem sigillet; quia pius et misericors est in aeternum.

I.2. Et infra, **exitimus de declinantibus a sua recordatione et blasphemantibus in legem suam quam elegit sibi ipsi, damnantes infidelitatem quam super corda nostra impresserat diabolus. Et mansimus palpitantes in nostra caecitate et stultitia donec intelleximus conditiones in quibus versabamur, Alchorani uidelicet et fabularum seu narrationum de traditionibus suis, et contrarietate *elfolicha*, id est perfectorum in lege Machometi. Et iustificati sumus de eo in quo fuimus, certificatique sumus quod recepit nos ad paenitentiam et de patientia sua circa ignorantes.** Nos igitur rogamus ut firmet nos in huiusmodi, et ut concedat tibi, O insipiens, librum istum intelligere quem nominauimus *Denudationis siue ostensionis, aut patefacientem* in quo patefecimus aduersus contrariantes nobis infidelitatem et deuiationem suam. Et si huic operi mendacium obiecerunt, Alchoranum suum mendosum ostendunt et suum prophetam et quod transtulerunt ex eodem sui sotii et sequaces usque impraesentiarum, quia nos non respondimus eis nisi de suo volumine et de suorum narratoribus sotiorum.⁷

refrain from fables and to tie themselves with the cords of Adam and be dragged by the bonds of charity”, Starczewska (2011).

⁷ “I.I. In the name of the Father, the Father of the ages, and of the Son, the Son of the resurrections, and of the Holy Spirit, the giver of life to those who are in tombs: a unity in Trinity, a Trinity in unity, through which He created us from earth, and carried us forward through begettings and loins, and fashioned us in wombs, and established for us senses of hearing and senses of sight and aids and intellects, and made us to be among the best of men, when He showed us His miracles and the power of His acts (and on account of this we have believed with certainty), and taught us the paths of truth, and displayed to us the signs of His power and the occasions of His wisdom. We will

It has been said that Juan Andrés could have easily have written two hundred years earlier and that his treaty is “typically medieval”.⁸ The preface quoted above does not come from two hundred years before Juan Andrés but rather from between 380 and 430 years before him; it can be noticed, however, how both of the prefaces share not only the their authors’ condition of a convert but also the importance and the authority which they give to the Quranic text (“Et si huic operi mendacium obiecerunt, Alchoranum suum mendosum ostendunt” vs. “porque en el cargo que tenía de sus Altezas de predicar a los moros pudiesse, con las auctoridades de su misma ley, confundirlos y vencerlos”). As it has been highlighted (Szpiech, 2012a), even when Juan Andrés is attacking the Qur’ān, he relies heavily on the Islamic tradition, as in the following example:

Todo lo sobredicho pongo en este presente capítulo por dos cosas: la primera porque sepan los oyedores y leedores de qué rondallas o consejas trata y escribe *Alcorán*; la segunda por declarar cómo Mahoma no puso en *Alcorán* sino aquello que los dos espaderos le dezían y según ellos ordenavan. Y por essa causa dezían los de Mequa que *Alcorán* no era otra cosa sino historias de los **antiguos**, en arávido dize así en muchas partes del *Alcorán*: * *calu in hede ille açatero aleguelin*, quiere dezir que *Alcorán* no era sino historias de los **primeros**. Las cosas que dize la glosa sobre todo el susodicho son cosas dignas de grande risa”.⁹

praise Him, therefore, for His demonstrated graces, and we will give thanks to Him for his uninterrupted munificence, and we will ask for Him steadfastness in this <task> which He Himself has guided, and a favorable outcome of the word and the work (which causes us to draw close to Him), so that He may seal the end <of this work>; for He is eternally pious and compassionate.

1.2. Now then, we, condemning the infidelity which the devil had stamped upon our hearts, stood apart from those who turn away from His remembrance, and who blaspheme against His religion which He chose for Himself. And we remained trembling in our blindness and stupidity until we understood the circumstances in which we dwelt, that is, <the circumstances> of the Qur’ān, and of the fables or narrations of his traditions, and the contradiction of the *elfolicha*, that is, the men completely knowledgeable in the religion of Muhammad. And we have been pardoned for that <condition> in which we were, and we have been made certain that He has brought us back to penitence, and <that He does this> out of His patience toward the ignorant. Therefore we ask that He strengthen us in this, and that He allow you, O foolish one, to understand this book which we have named <*The Book*> of *Denuding or Exposing, or the Discloser*, in which we have made clear the infidelity and error of those who oppose us. And if they <reproach KS> this work of any lie, they <merely> demonstrate that their Qur’ān is mendacious, as well as their prophet and that which his companions and followers down to the present have handed down from him, for we will not respond to them except on the basis of his volume and the narrators of his companions”, Burman, (1994, pp. 240-243).

⁸ Ruiz García, quoting Daniels and Pons.

⁹ Ruiz García-García-Monge (2001, pp. 151-152).

The phrase “historias de los antiguos / primeros” can be found in several Quranic fragments (eg. 6:25, 8:31, 16:24, 46:17, 68:15, 83:13). For the purpose of this article let us just focus on some of these passages; the Quranic quotations below come from the Latin translation commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo, together with some of the glosses which accompany the fragments in question:¹⁰

6:25 Et aliqui ex illis audient te et clausimus corda eorum ne intelligant, et aggrauamus aures eorum, et si illi uidebunt quodcumque miraculum, non credent in illud donec ueniant ad te disputantes contra te, dicentes illi increduli: “**Non est iste nisi** scriptura uetus.”

aliqui *add.* **iudei et Corascitae** *s.l.* C • iste *add.* **Alcoranus** *s.l.* C • uetus] priorum M • scriptura uetus *add.* quasi dicat: “nullius momenti” *s.l.* C • scriptura priorum *add.* **historia antiquorum** *s.l.* M

8:31 Et cum lecti sunt super eos uersus nostri, dixerunt: “Iam audiuius. Et si uellemus, nos diceremus simile huic, quia **hoc non est nisi historia** priorum.” (M) priorum *add.* **antiquorum** *s.l.* M

Clearly, none of these Quranic fragments fully coincides with Juan Andrés’ text, although some wording seems similar (“historias de los antiguos” and “historias de los primeros” vs. “historia antiquorum” and “historia priorum”). Nevertheless, what is particularly striking is the importance which both Latin translation of the Qur’ān and *Confusión o confutación* give to the gloss.¹¹ Juan Andrés mentions “la glosa” and “los glosadores” about twelve times in his treaty, and he grants the “glosadores” the authority of the traditional exegetes of Islam.¹² Similarly, when Juan Andrés claims to have translated the Qur’ān for Don Martín García, he says that he translated the Qur’ān and its glosses, “*Alcorán con sus glosas*”, which is exactly what Egidio da Viterbo got from his journey to Spain: the translation of the Qur’ān together with some glosses which were meant to explicate and contextualize the translation. Recently, in an article written together with Mercedes García-Arenal, we have shown how the Quranic translation used in Aragón by Figuerola, a preacher from Martín García’s circle, found its way to Egidio’s Viterbo.¹³ It is not utterly surprising therefore, to find coincidences

¹⁰ Starczewska (2012).

¹¹ About the place of the gloss in Egidio da Viterbo’s Qur’ān see Starczewska (2013).

¹² “Dizen los glosadores y Mahoma en la *Suna*” or “El qual testo o verso o dicho está muy desonesto por sí y muy superfluo, pero los glosadores del *Alcorán* lo esposieron y lo escusaron”, Juan Andrés (2003, pp. 190 and 201).

¹³ García-Arenal-Starczewska (2014).

between Juan Andrés' treaty and the Latin Qur'ān. For example, Juan Andrés writes:

El capítulo que ordenó y fizo Mahoma sobre el sobredicho caso se llama “**capítulo del vedamiento**”, **libro quarto**, [...] quiere dezir: “**O propheta, ¿por qué quieres vedar lo que Dios fizo lícito a ti queriendo complazer a tus mugeres?, pues Dios fizo lícito a todos vosotros moros que podéys usar lícitamente con vuestras esclavas**”. En este verso fizo lícito el usar con las esclavas. La qual cosa no fue lícito de antes. Y así torna proseguir el capítulo y dize así: “**Y quando encomendó el Propheta su secreto a algunas de sus mugeres, el qual por ellas fue publicado. Pues, o vosotras mugeres, si queréys repintir a Dios, vosotras libraréys bien; y si queréys estar repudiadas de Mahoma, pues su Criador le dará otras mejores que vosotras, moras y creentes y devotas y vírgenes y viudas.**”¹⁴

The translation of the fragment in question according to the Latin Qur'ān bears a close resemblance, especially when one takes into consideration the glosses left between the lines:

Azoara 29^a **liber 4^{us} Capitulum** uigesimum nonum, **de Prohibitione**

[66:1] **O tu Propheta! Quare uis prohibere quod Deus fecit tibi licitum**, ut impleas uoluntatem tuarum uxorum? Et Deus est parcens et misericors.

Propheta *add.* Machoma *s.l.* C • fecit tibi licitum *add.* **scilicet, coire cum ancillis s.l.** C || ut impleas uoluntatem tuarum uxorum *add.* **quibus displicebat ut dormiret cum ancillis s.l.** C • cupiditas ex quod placet tibi *add.* **quaerendo contentationes s.l.** M

[66:2] **Iam** praecepit Deus ut sunt uobis **licitae ancillae uestrae** quia Deus est procurator uester et ille est gloriosus iudex.

[66:3] **Et quando commendauit Propheta** unum **secretum aliquibus uxoribus suis**, et postea illae dixerunt illud, et docuit eum Deus aliquid; et dixit ex eo aliquid et reseruauit ex eo aliquid. Et postquam declarauit quod erat dictum illi. Dixit illa: “Quis dixit tibi?” Dixit: “Mihi dixit ille qui est sapiens iudex.”

Propheta *add.* Machoma *s.l.* C • secretum *add.* ne manifestarent amorem illius cum ancilla *s.l.* C • illae *add.* uxores *s.l.* C • illud *add.* secretum *s.l.* C • docuit eum Deus aliquid *add.* scilicet, **quod uxores eius publicauerunt secretum s.l.** C • eo *add.* secreto *s.l.* C

[66:4] Si uos egeritis paenitentiam Deo, corda uestra sunt diuersa; et si uultis adiuuari contra ipsum, Deus est dominus eius, et Gabriel, et sanctus credentium, et angeli post hoc sunt adiutores.

ipsum *add.* Machomam *s.l.* C • eius *add.* Machomae *s.l.* C

¹⁴ Juan Andrés (2003, pp. 171-172).

[66:5] Et fortasse si ille repudiauerit uos, dominus eius dabit ei alias uxores, **meliores quam uos**, quae sunt **maurae, credentes, deuotae**, paenitentes, contemplantes, peregrinae et uirgines.

ille *add.* Machoma *s.l.* C || Et fortasse si ille repudiauerit uos, dominus eius dabit ei alias uxores, meliores quam uos, quae sunt maurae, credentes, deuotae] Forsitan dominus suus, si repudiabit uos, mutabit ei uxores meliores uobis, **mauras, credulas, deuotas** M || contemplantes, peregrinae] adorantes, peregrinas, **uiduas** M

Quoting the Qurʾān in order to refute it was a common practice both in the Middle Ages and in the Early Modern period. Furthermore, it has been argued that there are substantial similarities between the Latin translation of the Qurʾān together with its glosses commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo and the polemical materials produced in Martín García's circle (see García-Arenal & Starczewska 2014). It seems plausible to suspect that what accounts for the similarities in both Juan Andrés' understanding of the sacred text and Egidio da Viterbo's Latin translation and glosses are the common exegeses used in the rendition of the texts in question. The way in which the transmission of the Quranic quotations in Juan Andrés' treaty took place is very relevant in order to expand this analysis. For instance, E. E. Larson (1984, pp. 187-188) concluded in the study on the linguistic complexity of *Confusión* that "the reciter, Juan Andrés, was not reading from a recognized traditional Koranic text as can be seen in his variants. It would appear that Juan Andrés was quoting from memory [...]. The differences are not of substance but rather of form. Andrés remembers the meaning, if not the precise wording". These conditions are to be taken into account in the further research on the relations between Juan Andrés' text and the Latin translation of Qurʾān and its glosses. Together with Teresa Soto González (ILC.CCHS.CSIC) study in which we shed more light on the complexity of the approaches to the Muslim authorities in polemical, anti-Muslim treaties and on the connection between the Arabic language and the proselytizing campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula.

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